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ABSTRACT

In developing nations educational technology is needed to meet demands for education, to supplement formal education, and to combat illiteracy and underdevelopment. While new technologies have the capacity to provide current and equal access to information and education, most countries lack the funds and motivation to use the media for educational purposes. In Africa the press and the radio have been primarily controlled by colonial and national governments. Newspaper and other print media are not yet useful educational tools because they usually are printed in a language foreign to the Africans, are dominated by foreign rather than domestic news, are poorly distributed, and are not seen as having educational value. However, educational newspapers are now in production in Tanzania, Senegal, and Mali. Radio also has educational applications in Africa, since it is well suited to the African oral tradition and may help in combating illiteracy. Radio is also an inexpensive means of providing political and cultural information, practical instruction, and lifelong education for the masses. Information about some existing educational newspapers and radio programs is attached. (LS)

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATIONAL METHODS AND TECHNIQUES SUITED TO THE SPECIFIC CONDITIONS OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

EDUCATION AND MASS MEDIA IN BLACK AFRICA

Problems presented by the adaptation of educational technologies

Study prepared by Mr. BABACAR SINE, sociologist,
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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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IR 003 305

alienated within stultifying cultural systems. The new educational technologies, while admittedly of great value, may also be dangerous if they are not integrated in a strategy aimed at liberation.

In Africa, especially in rural areas, where people at large are still labouring under the effects of a divisive feudalism, where traditional education, meagre in content and dogmatic in form, still holds full sway, the mere manipulation of educational technologies may well be fatal. To superimpose new-fangled technological education upon the old or to replace a stagnant traditional culture by an apparently modernist "culture" based on conditioning or on a set of conditioned reflexes, to substitute a self-denigrating rootlessness for the narrowly rooted compartmentalization of traditional education, all this would actually represent a step backwards in regard to certain aspects of this traditional education in that the individual, the African man for instance, was thereby cared for at all stages of life, from beginning to end, and, above all, this education formed an integral part of the life of the community to which he felt himself harmoniously bound.

C. General obstacles

This section focuses on the phenomenon of cultural "manipulation", applied for educational ends. Use of the mass media is impeded by a series of general obstacles, of a subjective type. Two examples may be singled out: on the one hand, the current lack of interest from the point of view of financial profitability; on the other, the often-noted lack of motivation.

1. Utilization of the mass media, financial profitability and the education industry

Educational undertakings are often considered to be "non-productive" in the commercial sense of the term. The idea of free intellectual investment being a factor in full and self-sufficient human development is regarded as an idealistic fantasy. Even the idea of a long-term intellectual investment capable of serving development is only just beginning to make headway, particularly in the developing countries which, fortunately, welcome the prospect of education integrated in development.

From all these angles, financial support from the State is necessary for the promotion of education using the mass media.

"The fact that teachers form only a minority of the potential audience available to a national radio network gives rise to technical difficulties not only in the co-ordination of the mass media but also in the financing of programmes which are specially produced for teachers. It is here that it seems necessary for a certain amount of financial support to be provided by the education authorities." (1)

The budgetary resources of most of the under-developed countries are too small for them to be able to make all the financial sacrifices required for the establishment of a network of highly flexible, functional and light-weight educational technologies. And often a narrow economic policy prevents them from grasping the possible bearing of mass education and the impact it could have on national development. The solution would be to combine financial and material efforts in the

(1) Cf. L'emploi de la Radio et de la Télévision dans la formation des maîtres, Etudes pédagogiques internationales N°. 25, Institut de l'Unesco pour l'éducation, Hambourg, 1970.

SYNOPSIS

Page

Summary 3

Part I: Educational technologies and educational requirements. 8

A. The present need for educational technologies in the under-developed countries. 8

B. The "operational" aspect of educational technologies. 10

C. General obstacles 14

1. Utilization of the mass media, financial profitability and the education industry. 14

2. Motivating the people concerned 16

Part II: Mass media in the African context: Press and radio 18

A. The historical circumstances in which the mass media were introduced into Africa: the colonial heritage 18

B. The press 19

1. Sociological impediments. 21

2. The domination of foreign languages 21

3. The absence of a press distribution policy. 22

4. The failure to recognize the educational value of the press . . . 22

5. A few examples of educational newspapers 22

(a) The rural educational press in Tanzania 23

(b) The educational press in Senegal 23

(c) The educational press in Mali 25

(d) Conclusion 27

C. Radio 27

1. Radio and the oral tradition 27

2. Radio and the struggle against illiteracy 28

3. Functionality of educational radio 29

ANNEX I: Instances of educational radio in Africa

ANNEX II: Kibaru: Recapitulatory table of contents over a period of one year (1972)

ANNEX III: Facsimiles of rural newspapers

EDUCATION AND MASS MEDIA IN BLACK AFRICA

Problems presented by the adaptation of educational technologies

SUMMARY

PART I. EDUCATIONAL TECHNOLOGIES AND EDUCATIONAL REQUIREMENTS

A. The present need for educational technologies in the under-developed countries

Education includes not only formal schooling but every activity in which the transmission and assimilation of knowledge occurs and provides a basis for advancement or transfer (adult training, literacy work, cultural promotion, etc.).

In the under-developed countries, requirements do not stem solely from the building of unified social structures and the increase in the demand for education, but also from the need:

to make up for the lag in school enrolments;

to combat illiteracy and underdevelopment.

It is urgent that new educational technologies be brought to bear in a judicious manner. They should help to increase the ability of the masses to participate in the process of social development, and lend themselves well to a civilization where the spoken word reigns supreme and where the image (conveyed by sound and rhythm, gestures and words) serves for everyday communication.

B. The "operational" aspect of educational technologies

Two qualities of the new educational technologies are particularly important for the under-developed countries:

the immediacy of the knowledge they transmit: knowledge becomes a living thing. These technologies plunge learners into a world in process. However, in Africa, very little is done to turn this essential quality to account;

the equal access they provide to education, conventional schooling being too expensive to benefit more than a minority. The new technologies do not call for elaborate facilities: all that is required is an organizer and a public square.

But these educational technologies must be integrated in an educational strategy which frees and arouses the creativity of the masses. The greatest danger would be to use these technologies as a means of cultural manipulation.

C. General obstacles

1. Utilization of the mass media, financial profitability and the education industry

Most of the under-developed countries have limited financial resources and frequently a penny-pinching attitude prevents them from fully grasping the importance of mass education for development and the need to make use of educational technologies for such education.

Commercial firms press for the utilization of new technologies. The State and the education authorities must maintain close control over the whole of the educational system and, in particular, the introduction and utilization of these educational technologies. There must also be an awareness of the fact that these technologies pose more problems than they solve.

2. Motivating the people concerned

Most of the people concerned are highly suspicious of educational technologies. They must be informed and made to take a part in elaborating and planning programmes through the medium of traditional structures: adults' groups, women's groups, young people's associations, etc.

PART II: MASS MEDIA IN THE AFRICAN CONTEXT: PRESS AND RADIO

A. The historical circumstances in which the mass media were introduced into Africa: the colonial heritage

The colonial system introduced the mass media (radio, press, cinema, sometimes television) into Africa and as a result these media are marked by:

centralization and bureaucratic control;

indoctrination and propaganda;

the dissemination of a sub-culture glorifying the colonizer's "civilizing mission";

foreign coverage to the detriment of domestic coverage.

Many countries still show signs of this heritage. Radio, press and cinema reproduce the neo-colonial ideology and social relations. They will not be able to serve development unless they break these ties.

B. The press: Its development is hampered by several factors:

1. Sociological impediments arising from the colonial heritage

(a) Most of the press media belong to the State or to the sole Party in existence

This is justified by the need to establish a national consensus. However, there is no grass-roots participation in the production of information because:

distribution is haphazard;

the content of newspapers is alien to the concerns of the people;

people lack motivation;

the press is quantitatively and qualitatively underdeveloped.

There are two exceptions:

Nigeria, where the density of the population facilitates communications and newspapers have been founded by the nationalist intellectuals ever since the beginning of the 20th century. However, this press is of no use for mass education as it leans too heavily on foreign models;

Tanzania, where there is an educational press in Swahili which plays an integral part in the movement for cultural and educational revolution.

(b) Illiteracy is an obstacle to the dissemination of the press

(c) The foreign press is looked up to by the local "élites"

2. The domination of foreign languages

It is not desirable to make African peoples literate in a foreign language: this would lead to the stagnation of local languages and cultures.

A foreign language educational press would run counter to any scheme for development since it would place a barrier between the people and their environment.

It is therefore necessary to put an end to the present hegemony of foreign languages.

3. The absence of a press distribution policy

Foreign monopolies control the distribution channels. Not only are they not interested in the educational press; they also frequently boycott it for the sake of their own more lucrative publications.

The State and the education authorities should therefore support the educational press.

4. The failure to recognize the educational value of the press

Traditional educational concepts and structures account for this lack of awareness. Once current experiments have proved their worth, fresh awareness will be possible.

5. A few examples of educational newspapers:

(a) Tanzania

The cultural framework is the community village - the "Ujamaa". Literacy teaching in Swahili has paved the way for an educational press. The subjects it deals with are chosen for their relevance to the concerns of the rural world.

The style is simple, as is the method of transcription used. The press plays an integral part in a development operation which respects and makes use of the social and cultural values of the village communities. It thus fully performs its cultural rôle.

(b) Senegal

1. Kaddu

This newspaper in the Wolof language (spoken by 78% of the population) was launched by intellectuals in 1971. However, the system of transcription has not been popularized. Efforts to provide instruction on transcription and to disseminate the newspapers are equally necessary.

No official support is provided, but voluntary workers have established distribution and readers' committees. But the language employed is simple and the subjects interest the general public (information on Senegal and Africa, local and African history).

effort could be made to hold for instance 'a symposium on national broadcasting programmes' bringing together those in charge of radio and representatives of the various economic sectors, urban and rural authorities, youth, women, workers and political parties. This would count as a sort of national cultural committee for broadcasting which would examine freely and democratically programme trends from one year to the next. It is worth making the experiment. First of all, the virtual monopoly of the public authorities over the mass media would thereby be avoided and at the same time a means would be provided of getting to know the requirements of the different social strata. The people themselves would thus choose their own programmes."(1)

In this representative democracy, why overlook educationalists and teachers? The bodies representing them must also be informed and apprised of the problems arising from the use of radio and those involved in learning to understand the visual media. They must all have access to whatever they need to eliminate the risks of bureaucratization and the insidious vices inherent in using the mass media for the purposes of manipulation. This point is crucial if an open and critical educational system is to be established, unadulterated by ideology serving the purposes of domination or conservatism.

Fortunately, most of those who have written on this subject have realized the need for an alliance between technicians and teachers with experience of the needs of the population.(2)

A solution must therefore be found to the problem of educational profitability and the education of the masses with a view to their own development. But the solution adopted must not deprive them of effective participation. Without such participation, there is a danger that any educational strategy using current technologies will degenerate into an exercise in "manipulation" or doctrinaire instruction. It would be desirable to explore this concept of participation more deeply, with reference to African societies which have not yet broken away entirely from the "co-operative sense" or "community spirit", by means of objective, unbiased case studies on the social environment.

What is involved is neither that participation which is akin to psychological "rape" and which is made all the more serious by the fact that radio and television readily lend themselves to such a use, nor participation which is merely nominal. In this connexion, Albert Meister usefully singles out for us two forms of participation to be avoided if not to be excluded purely and simply:

"One current of opinion focuses on development of the most appropriate techniques for encouraging and maintaining participation in the countries concerned. Eclectic in the sources of information on which it draws, this approach borrows just as much from the techniques of psychological 'rape' as it does from the procedures ensuring participation in parliamentary democracy, and the conclusions reached are to be read in countless manuals and brochures of the 'How to get people to participate' and 'Know-how of participation' variety. Often derived from the former, a second current of opinion sets participation up as a value in itself and considers all forms of participation to be worth while without looking too deeply into the significance and social functions of participation in a given context."(3)

(1) Ibid., p. 32.
(2) Cf. Clausse: Education by radio, Unesco, 1949.
(3) Albert Meister: Participation, animation et développement, Editions Anthropos.

The print-run is increasing, but circulation could be improved.

2. Demb ak Tey

This is a cultural review in Wolof and Peul. It studies the cultural heritage and establishes teachers' notes. Supported by the Ministry of Culture, the review is distributed mainly among teachers.

3. At Fandène, a village in the Thiès region, a student group has launched an educational newspaper in French, supported by the missionaries who have long been established there.

(c) Mali

The newspaper Kibaru was founded on 10 March 1972 by the Malian Ministry of Information. It is published in the Bambara language which is spoken by 80% of the population, and has a present print-run of 8,000 copies. Its action is reinforced by that of the "Kiburu clubs", "communicators" and correspondents who organize group readings and news circulation.

The newspaper prints all information relating to the different aspects of development.

It is labouring under material difficulties owing to problems in obtaining payment of subscription fees.

Conclusion

A press which has been acculturated fulfils the following conditions:

it uses a national language which is widely employed;

it plays an integral part in a movement aimed at cultural renovation and the restoration of authenticity;

it continues an educational operation often linked to economic and social development.

C. Radio

1. Radio and the oral tradition

Radio is the medium best suited to the African sociological context.

It provides a means of readapting the tradition of the "griots" (a kind of African "troubadour") and story-tellers.

2. Radio and the struggle against illiteracy

Radio may be of effective use provided the following conditions are met:

it must use a simple language;

it must award diplomas to successful students;

it must also have recourse to the written word;

it must be modelled on local requirements and realities;

it must use African languages on a priority basis.

3. Functionality of educational radio

Radio is an inexpensive and flexible medium, far less expensive and less cumbersome than television.

Radio can:

promote a living and critical culture;

develop civic and political education;

give priority to reaching the rural masses;

provide practical instruction;

promote life-long education.

PART I. EDUCATIONAL TECHNOLOGIES AND EDUCATIONAL REQUIREMENTS

A. The present need for educational technologies in the under-developed countries

The use of communication techniques in education is a recent phenomenon, as are the related studies. The importance of these educational technologies is unquestionably tied in with the scope and recent extension of the concept of education. This now covers not only formal schooling but every activity in which the transmission and assimilation of knowledge occurs and provides a basis for advancement or transfer (adult training, literacy work, in-service training, apprenticeship, educational information, life-long education, teacher training, cultural promotion, etc.).

The development of educational technologies thus appears to be a response to new educational requirements and social changes (the building of unified social structures and the increase in the demand for education). For the "under-developed" countries, there are other factors to be taken into account: the need to make up the considerable accumulated lag in school enrolments, the socio-cultural handicap of illiteracy, the struggle against economic underdevelopment, etc.

All these factors result in there being an urgent need for the judicious and integrated application of new educational technologies: "open" or closed-circuit television, radio, press, programmed instruction, etc. Unfortunately, however, the arguments in favour of the practical and appropriate utilization of these techniques are often viewed solely from the narrow standpoint of economic viability - seen from this angle, the explosion in student numbers and the shortage of teachers are the whole root of the trouble, and here it is that remedial action must be taken.

Far from this being the case, educational technologies should trigger new attitudes and provide an impetus towards inducing the masses to change their environment and improve their ability to participate in the process of social development. For this to come about the mass media must be used in new ways, going beyond the solution they afford to the purely financial problem and aiming rather at thawing the ice in whose grip mental and social structures generally are held fast. In the context of "underdevelopment", it is essential that the problem be studied in terms of both its quantitative and its qualitative aspects.

Often, it is these mental and social structures which impede the practical utilization of educational technologies rather than a shortage of material and financial resources.

Among these socio-cultural obstacles, Paul Saettler, in his "History of Instructional Technology", mentions the following:

(a) the dominance of conventional educational structures;

(b) routine and men's habits (teachers' in particular).

In the under-developed countries like those of Africa, the need is rather to draw up a more comprehensive list of the obstacles and limitations affecting civilizations in which technological structures are insufficiently established and where the practice of technology and the faculty for technological change and innovation must consequently take root in a new culture.

On the other hand, it is paradoxical that not enough emphasis is laid on the extraordinary receptiveness of the African peoples to the mass media, and particularly radio, which, in almost no time at all, have become firmly rooted in their day-to-day living. Admittedly, this has occurred in a cultural context the fundamental function of which is to reproduce foreign cultural models. In speaking of the "adaptation" of educational technologies, it is obvious that care must be taken to avoid falling into this trap or aggravating an existing situation.

Why are the African peoples so receptive to the mass media? Several causes can be singled out: (1) first of all, the phenomenon of the image - communication via the image - is not utterly at variance with that form of concrete, oral and gestural communication which is specific to African civilizations, even though the televised or filmed image is not equivalent and presents another kind of problem. On the other hand, the introduction of the press entails a real break with the tradition of oral communication; (2) communication via the living and active image can easily turn to account the spontaneous properties of ordinary dialogue, provided that one-way communication is replaced by a cultural adaptation of the phenomenon of feedback, i.e. that technologies be adapted in accordance with local cultural characteristics (by catering to the fondness for palavering, for metaphor, rhythm, etc.). For there exist endogenous cultural resources which lend themselves to use of the mass media.

In Africa, the new educational technologies or communication techniques find soil which has been to a large extent broken up and prepared by means of an already established audio-visual tradition rooted in a civilization in which oral expression is one of the dominant features and where the image (conveyed by sound and rhythm, by visual and verbal means) serves as a vehicle for artistic creativity and everyday communication.

The technological revolution constituted by the mass media extends and amplifies this oral form of expression by introducing a new element into it - "the mechanical structure which extracts words from the mouths that utter them, images from life and sounds from musicians and through which these passing phantoms, caught on the wing by records, film, radio and television, are released upon a world where there is every reason to believe that they go on living their own lives" (Jean Tardieu, La Chambre d'Echo).

This historical process which is under way - the transition from communication of a traditional type to mechanized communication - should be interpreted as a fundamental socio-cultural phenomenon. Educational technologies will no doubt take this process further, especially since they command the means to assert themselves and to get themselves adopted.

In some African countries, they have already been adopted on a very large scale: 90% of the population in Uganda have access to television and 50% in Kenya. Experiments in school television initiated here and there, as in Senegal and particularly in the Ivory Coast, are rapidly being extended to the adult population and are meeting with a great deal of enthusiasm.

"Education has ceased to concern only children and youth. Adults too remain in need of continuing education to keep up with the rhythm of change throughout the world, and maintain the desired controls This is also true for the developing countries and their adult populations, especially younger workers. In these countries there is a clearly felt need for promoting through education large sectors of the working force."

These remarks come from a study carried out by the ILO "Workshop on the Use of Radio and Television for Workers' Education" (Geneva, 1968).

The interest of this study resides in certain novel features of the research on which it was based However, it concentrates almost entirely on the problem of "labour education", the purpose of which it conceives in functional terms as that of making workers aware of their own socio-economic realities, and it is difficult to generalize from its conclusions.

Most of the studies devoted to the utilization of the mass media for educational purposes deal with pilot experiments or innovations carried out in the developed countries. Consequently, there is a cruel shortage of scientific studies which would serve as a basis for a conspectus or a critical appraisal.

B. The "operational" aspect of educational technologies

The conclusions which are generally drawn from the use of the mass media in education are as follows:

1. education using the mass media seems more effective;

2. it rests on more scientific foundations;

3. it provides a more powerful instructional tool (events can be compared, pieced together, set at a remove, etc.);

4. there is greater immediacy of knowledge;

5. equality of access to education can easily be achieved (in the context of school, university, the village community, etc.).

The last two points seem particularly decisive for the under-developed countries, especially those in Africa.

The immediacy of knowledge means relating an event as and when it occurs, at the same time bringing out its significance. It also means imparting living knowledge whereby he who learns is plunged into a world in process. The conventional school with its heavy and immobile equipment, its rigid curricula and its limited scope cannot adequately fulfil this task.

In the context of education integrated in the development process, educational technologies will have to be reconsidered with a view to the development of rural areas. From this angle, steps must be taken to promote the dissemination of cultivation techniques, the advancement of women, public health activities, literacy instruction adapted to practical needs, the provision of information regarding education, etc. At the same time, the training process will impinge upon the real world and its problems, which, it should be emphasized, is far from being the case as regards the present use of the mass media in Africa. There are local broadcasts which are addressed to the broad masses but they transmit a folksy sub-culture which confines audiences in narrow, enclosed worlds far removed from the real dimensions of their present lives and the major issues of international life. The people at large are thus cut off from everything beyond their own physical horizons.

This technique of "local cultural and ideological anchorage" affords lifeless training, turned in on itself; as such it is just another form of "manipulation". This is diametrically opposed to genuine participation and true liberation, which, by definition, implies using the technical facilities of the medium, to release and stimulate the creative talents of the population at large.

11 When I say "participation", I mean participation without all the connotations of "manipulation" which this concept too often carries under the cloak of a righteous conscience. Let us be clear here as to the difference between words and what they

designate. More of this later... For the time being, it should be stressed that the educated masses or those requiring education should be able to express their needs and feel involved in, and consequently beneficiaries of, that dialectic which needs to be established between those that teach and those that learn. What are required are not pedagogues who stifle the breath of life but teachers who are filled with it and can pass it on and who are capable of sitting at the feet of the people and learning from it wisdom, knowledge and know-how. In a word, what are needed are teachers who are prepared to make the world of the common man "their university" as Gorki and Makarenko recommend.

In order to make the best possible use of the mass media the main onus for education and cultural promotion in this field rests neither on the media technicians (for radio, press or television) nor on professional teachers, but on all those in responsibility in other sectors, who become live communication channels. How indeed can it be otherwise, given that the development process is itself intersectoral. The revolution in education, which is another aspect of the development process, does not require media specialists or media action alone, unless it is directed, extended and supported by all those in responsible positions in all the other sectors. In order for this to be achieved it is essential that knowledge be stripped of its bureaucratic character and democratized so as to arrive at mass education based upon a new relationship between the masses and those in positions of responsibility.

This dialectic is made all the more fundamental by the fact that in the so-called "developing" countries 70 to 80% of the population are illiterate, live in rural areas and suffer cruelly from a lack of conventional educational support (primary-school teachers, instructors, secondary-school teachers, etc.).

"The intersectoral nature of development and the multidisciplinary character of education highlight the rôles to be played by all the other sectors, whether economic, social or cultural, in the process of winning men's minds... Graduates in scientific or technical subjects, technicians, writers, journalists, administrators, doctors, nurses and craftsmen should all make partial repayment of the best that their educational system gave them, by themselves assuming some responsibility for teaching. Members of corporate bodies, organizations, firms and companies, professional organizations and trade unions, religious and lay bodies, should also make their individual contribution to the process of education, which would then involve each and every member of society. In this way a decisive step would be taken in the direction of 'life-long education'".(1) This concept of education imparted to everyone by everyone for everyone would appear to be highly "democratic", and, above all, it does take into account the fact that the choice of educational strategies is not a neutral one. And this applies a fortiori to the values conveyed and promoted by such strategies. For these values underlie political choices which themselves engender consensus or resistance. The idea of proliferating the effect of educational technologies by giving all those in responsibility a dynamic rôle in their application points to a highly original operational approach.

As for the possibilities afforded by educational technologies in regard to the fundamental question of democratic access to education, this essential aspect deserves close examination.

The concept of "access" is in our view somewhat inhibiting and even conservative, for it may suggest the mere mass consumption of cultural products or educational programmes doled out by remote technocrats or teachers, out of touch with the masses and their concerns and secure in their positions as holders and transmitters of knowledge. Far from this being the case, what is needed is the very opposite: the masses must participate in the democratic formulation and discussion of educational programmes. Let this be quite clear.

(1) Cf. Education in a rural environment, Unesco, Education and rural development - 2.

Used in this way, educational technologies can turn on its head the class pattern within which the traditional school has so far operated in the under-developed countries. Elitist, of limited social significance in that it reached only a minority, it was not interested in "democratizing" knowledge. At the technical level, it still encounters real difficulties in this respect - primarily material ones, deriving from the cost of education and the size of the investments needed in regard to the qualitative and quantitative results obtained.

Use of the new technologies does not necessitate a complex structure or elaborate facilities. Programmed educational broadcasts can be followed in a classroom, in the open air, in the fields, in a public square, etc. And the rigidity of the conventional school framework may indeed be willingly forgone in favour of larger auditoria equipped on a more functional and flexible basis for the purpose of following the education provided.

Owing to their intrinsic adaptability, the mass media are indisputably revolutionizing educational structures and making possible a massive increase in the number of potential learners.

Mass culture can thus become a reality, but this should not entail any lowering of the level of education. Aligning educational programmes to the level and needs of the broad masses does not mean giving them a crude folksy character. There can be no question of cramming dry facts or trite commonplaces into people's heads without enabling them to direct their critical sense beyond their immediate setting and their relations with the world, or without enabling them to develop their own creativity, to find the solutions to their problems by their own means. Nor is what involved the utilization of new educational devices to disseminate a technical or specialized sub-culture by means of radio broadcasts devoted to medicine, farming, animal husbandry, etc. There has been no lack of attempts to disseminate a technological sub-culture - allegedly for the purposes of grass-roots development - with the hope of triggering off development processes, for instance in the sphere of agriculture. The procedure is to pick out chunks of the syllabus with a view to using them as catalysts in a given socio-economic context. Educational radio can all too readily succomb to the temptation of viewing the syllabus as providing so much "target material" of this kind.

And it is true that for the purposes of this development-oriented approach to education, technological auxiliaries may prove to be powerful operational tools.

Admittedly, the result is a functional education, but one that is inherently reformist and technocratic, for it is not accompanied by a radical reappraisal of paralysing socio-cultural or political patterns nor by a critical of the ways in which they assert themselves. This would only be possible in the framework of an educational strategy deliberately wedded to liberation and a scientific approach. Such a strategy would be far removed from one that consists in using the mass media for the dissemination of technology which, while it has a "modernizing" effect or a quantitative impact on progress, does not remove institutional obstacles nor afford any prospect of putting an end to alienating social relations. In a work entitled "Villages en Développement"(1), Henri Desroche and Rampaud set out to examine measures taken in support of grass-roots development. The subject: a village in Congo-Kinshasa whose "symptoms" are "population susceptible to the monetary economy" and "loss of the community spirit".

"In order to respond positively to this situation, it was decided to call on national elements more attuned to the requirements of modernism, namely secondary-school pupils from towns and adjoining areas who, in return for grants awarded by the B.O.P.R. (Office for the Organization of Rural Programmes), spend part of their school holidays in 'development camps'. The purpose of these camps is to do the

(1) Henri Desroche and Rampaud, "Villages en Développement", Mouton.

initial groundwork for the curious blend of 'private school-farm' and village pre-co-operative that the 'modernization units' resulting from the applied research programme currently constitute."

A great deal can be learned from these lines and, reading them, one cannot help smiling. They call forth the following observations: (1) The ideas which they express fit into a strategy geared to "modernization" which is not explicitly recognized as such. Is it a question of superimposing one economic model upon another? And which one? Can villages be developed along co-operative lines when the dominant social relations are capitalist? Is there not a danger that the values imparted by education at grass-roots level will be merely pushed into the background or reduced simply to the level of exemplars for home consumption? It seems to me that these questions contain their own answers. (2) Underlying this passage or implicit in it there is an aristocratic distrust of the masses' ability to give evidence of creative intelligence within the framework of mass education directly intended for them. At bottom, the problem is not this loss of the community spirit, as though this were both ineluctable and irremediable, but rather to win recognition of the potential value of these new types of education, of which radio, by exploiting popular forms, may be the decisive vector.

For "the rural community has tremendous hidden reserves of energy, strength and intelligence. If the whole population of certain developed countries, a large proportion of which was until recently illiterate, is now playing its part in the development of these countries, this is mainly because this energy has been released and put to use. The view is therefore untenable that all rural communities are invariably resistant to change, progress and development". (1) (3) Just as educational strategy must not be geared solely to that fraction of the population already attending school, so the educational programme or syllabus cannot confine itself to mechanically meting out packaged technical knowledge. Such knowledge might perhaps be assimilated and used empirically to attain the desired objectives, but is there not then a risk of turning those receiving schooling into mere technicians, albeit better equipped than at present, and abandoning all hope of passing on to them the human aspect of knowledge? For this kind of packaged technical knowledge remains limited and fragmentary because it is not backed by political and cultural awareness, without which it is not possible to impress the significance of such a programme upon men's minds and trigger a process of <u>self-development</u>. And such, it may be recalled, is the proper aim of any use of educational technologies, particularly that increasingly popular medium, radio. And in order for these technologies to have this kind of educational effect, they must fit the piecemeal knowledge they provide into the overall plan for development, the blueprint for change. Otherwise, in no time at all, such knowledge will crystallize into <u>scraps of know-how of no great consequence for development</u>.

This systematic fragmentation of knowledge, or this knowledge provided piecemeal, does not allow of <u>freedom of initiative</u>, which is one of the ultimate goals of any revolutionary educational system. On the contrary, it reinforces the tendency to lap up pat formulae and, in objective terms, contributes, sometimes without their knowing it, to the hegemony of those with whom knowledge lies - intellectuals, teachers, technocrats and bureaucrats. Admittedly, positive results may be obtained, by empirical means, such as for instance the acquisition of cultivation techniques, changes in patterns of practical behaviour, an improvement in living conditions, etc. But these are mere mass-conditioning effects not to be confused with the full emancipation which the masses achieve by dint of first <u>taking in hand the means of their education, and then determining its general character</u> with the <u>help</u> of technicians and not <u>under their domination</u>.

(1) Cf. Education in a rural environment, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 60.

To guard against technical education programmes or syllabi being exposed to fragmentation, they will be linked to an overall programme or syllabus of living general culture. In this way one can hope to arrive at a system of education which is open and receptive to innovation but at the same time critical and itself a source of innovation. For innovation does not always have to come from outside! If innovations frequently meet with resistance, this is not so much on account of mental defects or shortcomings on the part of the masses as because they are alienated within stultifying cultural systems. The new educational technologies, while admittedly of great value, may also be dangerous if they are not integrated in a strategy aimed at liberation.

In Africa, especially in rural areas, where people at large are still labouring under the effects of a divisive feudalism, where traditional education, meagre in content and dogmatic in form, still holds full sway, the mere manipulation of educational technologies may well be fatal. To superimpose new-fangled technological education upon the old or to replace a stagnant traditional culture by an apparently modernist "culture" based on conditioning or on a set of conditioned reflexes, to substitute a self-denigrating rootlessness for the narrowly rooted compartmentalization of traditional education, all this would actually represent a step backwards in regard to certain aspects of this traditional education in that the individual, the African man for instance, was thereby cared for at all stages of life, from beginning to end, and, above all, this education formed an integral part of the life of the community to which he felt himself harmoniously bound.

C. General obstacles

This section focuses on the phenomenon of cultural "manipulation", applied for educational ends. Use of the mass media is impeded by a series of general obstacles, of a subjective type. Two examples may be singled out: on the one hand, the current lack of interest from the point of view of financial profitability; on the other, the often-noted lack of motivation.

1. Utilization of the mass media, financial profitability and the education industry

Educational undertakings are often considered to be "non-productive" in the commercial sense of the term. The idea of free intellectual investment being a factor in full and self-sufficient human development is regarded as an idealistic fantasy. Even the idea of a long-term intellectual investment capable of serving development is only just beginning to make headway, particularly in the developing countries which, fortunately, welcome the prospect of education integrated in development.

From all these angles, financial support from the State is necessary for the promotion of education using the mass media.

"The fact that teachers form only a minority of the potential audience available to a national radio network gives rise to technical difficulties not only in the co-ordination of the mass media but also in the financing of programmes which are specially produced for teachers. It is here that it seems necessary for a certain amount of financial support to be provided by the education authorities." (1)

The budgetary resources of most of the under-developed countries are too small for them to be able to make all the financial sacrifices required for the establishment of a network of highly flexible, functional and light-weight educational technologies. And often a narrow economic policy prevents them from grasping the possible bearing of mass education and the impact it could have on national development. The solution would be to combine financial and material efforts in the

(1) Cf. L'emploi de la Radio et de la Télévision dans la formation des maîtres, Etudes pédagogiques internationales N°. 25, Institut de l'Unesco pour l'éducation, Hambourg, 1970.

framework of a regional strategy for the development of the education industry and educational technologies. For this to come about the State (several States) must make it a fundamental plank in their policy.

The only alternative, alas!, would be to entrust the responsibility for financing these technologies and making them into a going concern to private associations. There is a danger that this solution would bring to the front goals other than strictly educational ones. Thus, placing educational technologies in private hands may quite well lead to education being diverted from its true objectives. Private control can indeed be seen from two points of view, for there are grounds for fearing that educational strategies will thereby lose sight of their principal aim which is to bring about in countries such as the African ones a socio-cultural change conducive to liberation. It is this which is to be understood, reading between the lines, from the following remark by Fauquet and Strafogel:

"At first glance it seems bound to be more economical to train instructors to provide basic education in the developing countries by using closed-circuit television. And the obvious alacrity of commercial firms to take advantage of such a gold-mine is scarcely surprising."(1)

This alacrity on the part of commercial firms will be of decisive importance for the adoption of educational technologies. It is an apparently objective process with sufficient power behind it to overcome the resistance put forward by conventional or conservative teachers. Whether or not such technologies are adopted on a large scale, there is no difficulty in finding arguments in their favour - the need to do something about educational underdevelopment, the enormous expense of conventional educational equipment, their efficacy as educational tools, etc.

The relative financial strength behind the educational technologies will, it is becoming increasingly clear, work in favour of their widespread introduction, at least as regards the general trend of the new educational infrastructures.

"Undeniably", states Schaefer for instance, "what makes it more likely that educational technology will come into its own is the fact that it is supported by the wealth and power of the American industrial companies."(2)

This industrialization of education in Africa raises a series of problems which we can but touch on in this study: the problem of standardization, the problem of the adaptation of technological models, the problem of programme exchanges, etc., but above all the overriding problem of the control of the State and the education authorities over all functional and industrial systems.

The basic problem therefore presents itself at two levels:

hardware: the problems arising from the construction and introduction of educational equipment (adaptation, acclimatization, etc.);

software: the problem of the educational utilization of educational technologies in the light of the realities of African socio-cultural life. For one must beware of that blind optimism which would have it that the use of educational technologies will, as though by magic, solve the colossal problems currently besetting the conventional school in the countries of Africa and the Third World generally.

(1) M. Fauquet and S. Strafogel: L'audio-visuel au service de la formation des enseignants - Le circuit fermé de télévision.

(2) Schaefer: Document de travail: Colloque d'Amiens, 1968, Cf. "Pédagogie et industrie de l'éducation".

Often educational technologies pose even more problems than they solve, at other levels it is true: technological innovations are rapid and many and therefore demand a constant capacity for change and the ability to assimilate these innovations so as to be able to make such technological adjustments as are consonant with social change.

The naïve belief in the a priori value of technology" deserves to be denounced, as it has been in the following terms: "Care must be taken, however, not to indulge in illusions and one must beware of a naïve belief in the a priori value of technology. Examination of the surveys reported on later in this work proves, contrary to the claims of numerous bureaucrats, to what extent technological requirements raise more theoretical problems than they provide immediate practical solutions to the difficulties arising from the urgent need for mass training".(1)

2. Motivating the people concerned

These people are made up of the parents of pupils, teachers and learners, all of whom are often suspicious of and uninformed about educational technology. Is there need for such a technology? Must it strive to translate messages and education into the languages spoken by the people, i.e. the African languages? Must it aim to delineate in precise fashion the themes of popular concern and explore the creative opportunities afforded by an autonomous style and form of written expression in which the peoples of Africa can recognize themselves? In the "acculturated" context of present-day Africa, all these things are vitally necessary. Otherwise, only the élite who have received schooling and who have been moulded in the system of foreign-based culture will be receptive to the education imparted although they are not the most urgently in need of it and should not be the main target for it.

The principal social target should be that part of the population which is illiterate and on which all development efforts hinge. There can be no question of reinforcing the cultural dualism inherited from the colonial period, manifest in a form of alienation which consisted in the appropriation of the tools of communication and educational technologies by the colonizer and his local acolytes.

This problem of motivation can to a great extent be solved by the development of awareness. Steps must therefore be taken to provide and to gain information with a view to educating, using the same technologies for both purposes.

This need for motivation is described by Patrice Zemoniaco in the following way: "It should be added that what is primarily involved is winning over an entire population, instilling awareness into them and motivating them in respect of the problems of their society and their lives. It is here that the programmer must have recourse to psychology. For, so it is said, unless the community as a whole is suitably motivated, there is no chance that the individual will be. The best solution is to avoid making people unhappy by seeking to do the opposite. Priority must therefore be given to satisfying the population. It would be interesting to get the public to take part in choosing programmes by using the methods of market studies and opinion polls. But such methods seem very costly for the developing countries".(2)

Another way of tackling the problem of motivation is indisputably to define a technique for participation focusing on the elaboration and planning of educational programmes. Any techno-bureaucratic solution would have the opposite effects. Before the radio or any other medium can be a school of the people it must learn from the people by giving them an important say in education, at the level not only of feedback but also of programming. Although opinion polls call for substantial resources which are often lacking, the technique of delegation, as a means of

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(1) Fauquet and Strafogel, op. cit., p. 15.
(2) Patrice Zemoniaco, La radio diffusion, université populaire, Présence Africaine, No. 88, p. 31.

relaying opinion, is a regular feature of African tradition. The various groups (women, adults, different age groups, peasants, assemblies of elders, young people's associations) always manage to make their suggestions and opinions known by these means. Participation can thus make use of the traditional channels, only democratized and improved.

"A far more democratic form of procedure must therefore be considered. An effort could be made to hold for instance 'a symposium on national broadcasting programmes' bringing together those in charge of radio and representatives of the various economic sectors, urban and rural authorities, youth, women, workers and political parties. This would count as a sort of national cultural committee for broadcasting which would examine freely and democratically programme trends from one year to the next. It is worth making the experiment. First of all, the virtual monopoly of the public authorities over the mass media would thereby be avoided and at the same time a means would be provided of getting to know the requirements of the different social strata. The people themselves would thus choose their own programmes."(1)

In this representative democracy, why overlook educationalists and teachers? The bodies representing them must also be informed and apprised of the problems arising from the use of radio and those involved in learning to understand the visual media. They must all have access to whatever they need to eliminate the risks of bureaucratization and the insidious vices inherent in using the mass media for the purposes of manipulation. This point is crucial if an open and critical educational system is to be established, unadulterated by ideology serving the purposes of domination or conservatism.

Fortunately, most of those who have written on this subject have realized the need for an alliance between technicians and teachers with experience of the needs of the population.(2)

A solution must therefore be found to the problem of educational profitability and the education of the masses with a view to their own development. But the solution adopted must not deprive them of effective participation. Without such participation, there is a danger that any educational strategy using current technologies will degenerate into an exercise in "manipulation" or doctrinaire instruction. It would be desirable to explore this concept of participation more deeply, with reference to African societies which have not yet broken away entirely from the "co-operative sense" or "community spirit", by means of objective, unbiased case studies on the social environment.

What is involved is neither that participation which is akin to psychological "rape" and which is made all the more serious by the fact that radio and television readily lend themselves to such a use, nor participation which is merely nominal. In this connexion, Albert Meister usefully singles out for us two forms of participation to be avoided if not to be excluded purely and simply:

"One current of opinion focuses on development of the most appropriate techniques for encouraging and maintaining participation in the countries concerned. Eclectic in the sources of information on which it draws, this approach borrows just as much from the techniques of psychological 'rape' as it does from the procedures ensuring participation in parliamentary democracy, and the conclusions reached are to be read in countless manuals and brochures of the 'How to get people to participate' and 'Know-how of participation' variety. Often derived from the former, a second current of opinion sets participation up as a value in itself and considers all forms of participation to be worth while without looking too deeply into the significance and social functions of participation in a given context."(3)

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(1) Ibid., p. 32.
(2) Cf. Clausse: Education by radio, Unesco, 1949.
(3) Albert Meister: Participation, animation et développement, Editions Anthropos.

Genuine participation is scarcely possible unless the public is suitably motivated and feels concerned by the programmes which are put on. These in their turn must be rooted in the everyday lives and problems of ordinary people and cater to their needs, etc. The education which they impart will not simply entail, as in the case of traditional school education, the quantitative acquisition of knowledge and techniques, even less of academic learning.

In this connexion, the TEVEC (community television) experiment for instance may be of guidance and provide a signpost even when media other than radio are involved. For what was at issue in Quebec if not the problem of the inadequate education of an "under-developed" population, left on the sidelines, which was not participating in economic and social development? Faced with the bankruptcy of traditional educational systems, recourse to education by means of television was a necessity. However, it should be stressed that it is not possible to transpose all the conclusions of the TEVEC experiment to Africa where the socio-economic situation is different from that of Quebec. The population of this province, even though "underdeveloped" and economically behind, lives in a highly industrialized context and is objectively caught up in the process of advanced capitalist development, not in the "development of underdevelopment".

But the lesson drawn from the use of TEVEC for adult education may legitimately be applied to Africa, and in connexion with the use of other media such as radio and the press: "Whatever weight might have to be given to academic subjects in order to ensure that participation be effective, such participation presupposed equally that education be such as to lead men, by and through everything that constitutes their lives, to become individuals in their own right. And it was recognized that men can become so only by giving thought to their situation and to their actual sphere of life".(1)

The principle defended here is closely akin to our desire to see the ideals of general culture linked with a living education rooted in practical study of the social environment.

PART II. MASS MEDIA IN THE AFRICAN CONTEXT: PRESS AND RADIO

Two specific examples will be singled out: press and radio. On the basis of an examination of the colonial heritage, which is still the source of much present-day practice, the best conditions for using these media so as to promote development will be considered.

A. The historical circumstances in which the mass media were introduced into Africa: the colonial heritage

The colonial system introduced radio, cinema and, recently, television into Africa. The way in which the use of these media was or still is bound by the colonial heritage presents certain characteristics which may be usefully outlined and even examined in detail if an attempt is to be made to adopt another concept of education and another educational strategy for the purposes of development. These characteristics are as follows:

1. The establishment of a centralized system

This is reflected in the State monopoly in this sphere and in totally bureaucratic control. Small thought is given to allowing those concerned to take part in the elaboration of programmes (news, educational broadcasts, etc.). This centralization to which the tools of communication were thus subjected was an

(1) The TEVEC case: an experiment in adult education using the multi-media system, Raymond Lallez, Unesco, 1972, IBE.

expression, at the level of the superstructure, of a declared desire for strict ideological control and supervision in keeping with the purest colonial logic.

2. Consideration of the possibility of immediate political returns, in particular through indoctrination and propaganda

Use of the mass media was automatically stripped of any educational function. During the colonial period, the purpose of propaganda was to dispense a sub-culture based upon the dissemination of images which aroused fascination in the face of the wonderful achievements resulting from the colonizer's civilizing mission - without any fundamental reference to the culture of the dominated countries. Instead of an educational programme one had submission to the officially approved line. In this respect, like the school system which catered to a certain élite, the mass media served to relay the colonial culture to the masses but in the most grossly caricatural forms. They were thus turned into ideological tools serving underdevelopment.

3. Foreign coverage to the detriment of domestic coverage

I have already dwelt sufficiently on this aspect of the phenomenon of foreign ascendancy and shall not bring it up again. Unfortunately, the marks of this heritage are still very much in evidence in most of the African countries. A critical survey of the present set-up as regards the mass media, their use, etc., reveals no basic change in the situation. Radio, press and cinema reproduce the colonial or neo-colonial ideology and social relationships in the absence of any radical change in their structurally dependent status, both at the socio-economic level and here concretely, in regard to the production and distribution systems in force in Europe. Any change of direction likely to be of benefit to African development will be possible only if a strategy is devised for the purpose of emerging completely from this state of dependence.

B. The Press

Most existing press organs in Africa belong either to the State or to the dominant or sole political party, a fact which points to the persistence of the tradition of centralization already noted in regard to the colonial period.

It is therefore impossible to speak of the existence of a certain pluralism in the expression of opinions. Often this centralization of the communication media, such as the press, is "justified" according to certain African spokesmen by the need to create a national consensus or national cohesion so as to preserve the new and fragile State structures and above all to contend with the danger presented by breakaway movements (tribalism, regionalism, etc.). Such, seemingly, should be the goal of education using press and radio. Thus, recourse to centralization founded on this kind of ideological justification has led to the winding up of certain grass-roots experiments, original and interesting as they were, such as village newspapers which, though rare, existed here and there. Regional and village news is now centralized, that is to say that it is featured separately in the national and central newspapers. This cannot be the best way of ensuring participation by way of the grass-roots community press, for the following obvious reasons:

(1) internal distribution is often very inadequate owing to the poorly developed domestic circulation networks;

(2) centralizing regional news or educational news means limiting it quantitatively. As it is, the amount of space available to the central newspapers is restricted and is often taken up by material which is alien to the concerns of the masses, namely a surfeit of foreign news and official propaganda;

(3) centralizing and monopolizing the press as is the case today means above all running the risk of ignoring or by-passing the requirements and day-to-day realities of the masses, particularly in rural areas. In all probability, the educational impact of the press and the participation to which it may give rise will be small, for unless it adequately reflects the concerns of the people, keeps in close touch with their needs and expresses them from day to day, it is impossible to arouse the interest of those concerned. The dialectical process leading from motivation to participation comes to grief or simply does not get under way.

However, emphasis should be laid first and foremost on the underdevelopment of the press itself in Africa (both quantitative and qualitative underdevelopment), with a few exceptions in some countries such as Nigeria and Tanzania where the press is relatively developed and often for different reasons.

In **Nigeria**, the large size of the population must be taken into account. The fact that this country is very highly populated objectively favours the development of communication structures, including, in the event, the press. In addition, in this country there has for a very long time existed a press rooted in the national traditions, on account, essentially, of the part played by nationalist intellectuals such as E. Blyden who may be regarded as a forerunner.

Here, for instance, is a highly suggestive list of these newspapers modelled on Nigerian cultural life and the national systems of values, taken from a study by Ijere entitled "The Nigerian Experience": "Among the most important nationalist newspapers were: The Lagos Weekly Record by J.P. Jackson; Lagos Standard (1908-1920) by Christopher Jonson; African Messenger (1920-1937) by Ernest Ikoli; The Lagos Daily News (1925-1936) by H. Macaulay; Nigerian Eastern Mail (1935) by J.V. Clinton; the Zik Group of Papers - West African Pilot (1937); Eastern Nigerian Guardian; Southern Nigerian Defender; The Nigerian Spokesman and The Daily Comet".(1)

Ijere's study is very interesting. It does not omit to point out that, even in **Nigeria**, the press, even the nationalist press, does not yet cater to the people nor does it serve the ends of popular education. Among the obstacles to this necessary change, he casually mentions the social and colonial ones:

> "One obstacle in using mass media as promoters of black culture and civilization is the persistence of the colonial heritage... Imperceptibly, they play down indigenous institutions while extolling imported values and behaviour patterns, attitudes and skills. There are Nigerians who still believe in the superiority of the white man and his civilization. It is these people that prefer foreign mass media to the national media".(2)

In other words, Ijere sees the dynamic of the culture put out by the mass media as being related to the social dynamic which, in the present-day Nigerian context, has a constricting effect.

The case of Tanzania is a special one. This is a country which is engaged in a cultural and educational revolution as a direct result of a political choice. In these circumstances, the press, which is published in Swahili, is expanding at all levels. I examine further on the case of the rural educational press in Tanzania (cf. section 5).

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(1) M.O. Ijere: "The Nigerian Experience", in Mass Media and Black Civilization, Présence africaine, No. 88, p. 16.

(2) Ibid., p. 21

However, emphasis must be laid primarily upon the obstacles and restrictions which stand in the way of any attempt to develop the press in Africa, and not only newspapers but also the educational press.

Such restrictions account to a very large extent for the under-developed state of the press. The most decisive of them can, for convenience, be divided into the following four types of inhibiting factors:

(1) sociological impediments arising from the colonial heritage;

(2) the domination of foreign languages;

(3) the absence of a press distribution policy;

(4) the failure to recognize the educational value of the press.

(1) We have looked at some aspects of the **sociological impediments** arising from the colonial heritage, the main ones being:

(a) the enormous disability constituted by the illiteracy which is rampant in the African countries (70% to 80% of the population save in a few exceptional cases such as Gabon);

(b) the hegemony of the foreign press, unheedingly prized by the local "élites", to the detriment of a nascent national press.

Let us now examine the three other factors impeding the development of the press:

(2) The domination of foreign languages

This phenomenon represents the biggest obstacle.

In order for the African masses to have access to a foreign-language press, they would need to be given literacy training in the foreign language used, which raises more problems than it solves. From the educational point of view, this is not even desirable for quite obvious reasons:

This preliminary literacy training would be very costly.

It would reinforce the dominance of the foreign cultural values inherent in the language itself and of the way of thinking of which that language is the vehicle. The nature of the messages conveyed through a language is to a very large extent determined by that language.

A French- or English-language educational press would lead to the stagnation of local languages and cultures, or at least would gravely jeopardize their development. Any educational project which is not rooted in these cultures, and which does not contribute to their full development, is thereby divested of one of its fundamental purposes.

A foreign language educational press would in this respect aggravate cultural underdevelopment by increasing in-built dependence at the cultural and social level. One could go so far as to say that it would be an aberration which would fly in the face of any plans for development, if only because education should lead to free and all-round flowering of the personality, increase the sense of belonging and thereby help people to recognize the true significance of individual, national and international life.

In order then to make effective use of an educational press, it is necessary to put an end to the present hegemony of foreign languages, particularly through the promotion of local languages.

(3) The absence of a press distribution policy

The distribution channels are under monopoly control, generally foreign-held (Havas, for instance). Such companies, which act according to a purely commercial logic, are incapable of providing the support required for the dissemination of an educational press. The State and the education authorities must assume direct responsibility for this technical but decisive task.

There even exist examples of educational newspapers being boycotted on various grounds: AWA, a high-quality women's newspaper, launched by Senegalese women such as the well-known journalist Annette M'Baye, sought to promote or to contribute to the advancement of women. Its distribution was primarily urban, and therefore limited, especially since the language used was French. This grass-roots venture was encouraging, particularly since it made no secret of its educational intentions. The newspaper contained articles of a quite different order from the drivel which fills the pages of feminist newspapers nowadays, such as the lamentable Amina.

AWA has purely and simply vanished from circulation as a result of the systematically negative attitude of the magnates who control distribution and who preferred to encourage easily marketable newspapers.

Should there be a commercial press or an educational one? That is the fundamental question, but the triumph of the latter over the former depends on political support and on the country's economic policy decisions, but above all on an awareness of the use of the press as a medium of mass education.

(4) The failure to recognize the educational value of the press

The resistance shown by traditional teachers, the dominance of conventional educational structures and ignorance of the educational opportunities afforded by the mass media account for this failure.

There is, however, a dawning of awareness in Africa regarding this matter, judging by the experiments under way in various places (school television in Niger, Ivory Coast, Senegal, etc.).

Of course, it will take a long time to overcome the various types of resistance and obstacles. In the meantime, the test-tube experiments at present under way will have to prove their worth and also develop and then consolidate a new attitude and awareness on the part of the teachers without which no further progress will be possible.

(5) A few examples of educational newspapers and journals

The village newspaper experiment deserves to be emphasized and, in the same vein of thought, some town newspapers designed for educational ends.

Even if this type of experiment is limited in scope and is therefore not being applied as well as it might be in countries where the greater part of the population lives in rural areas and is in greatest need of such newspapers, the examination of such ventures allows one to draw certain particularly significant conclusions, particularly in Cameroon with the Petit Camerounais, now vanished from the scene, Kibaru in Mali and Frandène in Senegal, where there still exist recently founded newspapers in local languages - such as Kaddu and Demb ak Tey, published by the Centre for the Study of Civilizations. The main problem is that of knowing whether such publications tie in with the cultural traditions of the countries concerned.

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(a) The rural educational press in Tanzania

The country where there is the most marked development in the rural educational press is indisputably Tanzania. The cultural context in which such publications are grounded is the "Ujamaa", the community village, itself seen as fitting into the framework of the Government's socio-economic reforms. Literacy work in Swahili is mainly carried out by young Party volunteers, pupils, students and community leaders. This cultural drive at grass-roots level has made it possible to establish a rural press, but this has been able to develop only because of a number of educational factors:

subjects are chosen which correspond to the concerns of the rural world (relating to agriculture, animal husbandry, public health, etc.);

subjects are chosen which really "grip" the reader: history of the country, the region, the village, local events, etc.;

the style is simple (learned expressions which are beyond the range of the general public are avoided and common idioms are used; the written style is kept as close as possible to the spoken vernacular);

the alphabet and method of transcription are simplified;

Swahili is taught systematically by literacy committees, using for the purpose Party premises in each village or region.

Thus, in this case, education is integrated in a development operation which respects and uses the social and cultural values of the village communities:

the local language is used in its vernacular form, but transcribed and standardized;

subjects are dealt with in terms of everyday life and development needs.

The press thus fully performs its educational rôle since it forms part of a dynamic cultural movement deeply rooted in the socio-economic realities of the community.

(b) The educational press in Senegal

(1) The Kaddu experiment

This is a Senegalese experiment which was launched in 1971 by private efforts on an unofficial basis. Intellectuals with the help of certain people from the bulk of the population availed themselves of the national transcription system to launch a newspaper in Wolof.

Kaddu, which means "the spoken word", is aimed primarily at that part of the population which is not yet literate in French and which speaks Wolof (Wolof is the chief language of the country, spoken by 78% of the population).

The main obstacles to be surmounted were and still remain the following: 27

the system of transcription has not been popularized; had it been, this would have better paved the way for the experiment. It is therefore equally necessary to provide instruction on transcription and to improve the distribution of the newspaper. Kaddu has brought out a special edition of the transcription system which is distributed by volunteers to the public at large, and also provides instruction on transcription on the front page of each issue of the newspaper;

lack of official logistic support, which would have made it possible, as in Tanzania, to benefit from the educational infrastructure (schools, institutions, etc.) for the purposes of the experiment; to get round the difficulty, distribution and readers' committees have been set up, composed in the main of young people (pupils, primary school teachers) who are keen on the experiment and wish to support it;

the experiment originated in town, even though its basic objectives are to reach out beyond the sphere of the urban committees to the rural masses;

the educational content.

The reader of Kaddu will find the content varies greatly. Most numbers contain news articles (social, cultural and political news concerning events in the country, in Africa, etc.) and also historical articles (history of the country and of Africa, accounts of leading African figures, etc.). These articles are generally written in a simple language which can be understood by the general public. The genuine efforts thus being made account for the paper's present success, revealed by the fact that its print-run is constantly rising. However, in order for this to have its maximum impact, the technical problem of distribution remains to be solved, and as the promoters of Kaddu themselves admit, this is still at the pre-industrial stage.

(2) In addition to Kaddu, mention should be made of Demb ak Tey which is published by the Centre for the Study of Civilizations in Dakar. This publication appears in Wolof and Peul and contains about 60 pages. For the time being, and this is its main purpose, Demb ak Tey performs the task of translating and studying certain elements of the cultural heritage: - tales, proverbs, popular philosophy - and making them widely available. It is also engaged in compiling a set of teachers' notes. Here, by way of example, are some of the contents of the first issue, as set out in the table of contents:

Page	
5	Text in Wolof, by way of introduction
10	Lines addressed to Senegalese schoolchildren
12	Story of El Haj Bouc - Peul version
19	Ditto - Wolof version
26	Story in Serer (one of the languages of the country)
32	Teachers' notes: Yen, study and re-enactment of the story
58	System of transcription: alphabet: Wolof, Mandingo, Peul, Serer.

Demb ak Tey, which means "Yesterday and Today" in Wolof, is supported by the Ministry of Culture, which provides it with material assistance for its development. It is distributed mainly among teachers, seeking, by developing their awareness, to have an impact on the school and non-school public.

The didactic function of the review is apparent in its presentation and particularly in its use of cartoon strips which serve as visual supports for the tales transcribed into local languages. When the review has become an accepted feature of the scene a survey should be carried out in order to evaluate its impact, its quality and the categories of public it reaches.

(3) In Fandène, a village in the Thiès region, pupils and students have got together and launched an essentially educational newspaper. It appears in French, thus limiting its audience, although the village contains a good number of people who are literate in French as a result of the efforts of the missionaries who set up schools there a long time ago. Moreover, the Fandème newspaper benefits from their assistance which can be valuable, for the success of a village newspaper often depends to a large extent on the support of certain social authorities (assemblies of elders, religious authorities, etc.) or political authorities, as in Mali where the Party has encouraged the expansion of Kibaru to enable it to reach the masses.

(c) The educational press in Mali

The educational press here is represented by the newspaper Kibaru. This affords one of the few examples in Black Africa of a rural newspaper launched and run on consistently endogenous lines coming to exercise a real impact on a rural population.

(1) Presentation and outline of the newspaper

Kibaru (The News) has been in existence in the Republic of Mali since 10 March 1972 when it was launched by the Malian Ministry of Information or, to be more accurate, by the National Information Agency. The language used is Bambara which is the dominant language in Mali, being spoken by 80% of the population. This is of great value in Africa where the multiplicity of languages often constitutes an obstacle to the dissemination and expansion of a local newspaper.

Kibaru, which is printed in a 25 x 32 format and comprises 4 pages, has a present print-run of 8,000 copies. These characteristics have, in the opinion of the promoters themselves, contributed to the newspaper's success. The main points covered by the newspaper can easily be compressed into four pages, particularly since the readers for whom it is intended are not yet ready for more copious reading matter and could even get bogged down in a larger number of pages. No doubt material limitations (personnel, funds, etc.) are another factor involved.

A print-run of 8,000 copies is in itself an encouraging start, but this figure does not correspond to the far greater number of people who are actually reached by the newspaper, for allowance must be made for the action of the Kibaru clubs which have been set up in the villages and for the "communicators" and correspondents who either organize group readings or see to it that the news is circulated.

(2) Content and sphere of influence of Kibaru

Content: The editorial board puts together most of the reading matter. This is generally based on information relating to the different aspects of development: agriculture, animal husbandry, health, hygiene, civics, etc.

The principal headings under which the contents of the newspaper are ranged are as follows:

(1) agricultural extension work;

(2) education, health, hygiene;

(3) national news;

(4) regional news;

(5) letters from readers and communicators;

(6) African and international news;

(7) general news, humour and miscellaneous;

(8) illustrations.

One of the main points to emerge is that the content of the newspaper must be renewed regularly so as to retain the interest of the rural population, for there is often a great danger of repeating educational images and information which have already been got across to the rural audience. The sole way of avoiding this is to establish feedback so that the public can make its suggestions and needs known. Letters from readers and communicators, who serve as intermediaries between the editors of the newspaper and the rural population, appear to play a valued rôle in this connexion.

A further point which should be borne in mind is that the newspaper is intended for adults who need to be informed without paternalism and that a dry and didactic approach must be avoided. In this connexion, Kibaru is not supposed to provide literacy instruction, it being assumed that this has already been achieved and since it would appear indeed that it is not possible effectively to provide literacy training and information at one and the same time.

As regards the subjects and themes developed under the different heads, a detailed breakdown is given in the table provided in Annex II, which gives some idea of the wealth and diversity of the material contained in Kibaru.

The sphere of influence of Kibaru:

By sphere of influence is meant the newspaper's audience among the rural masses, its impact and the area over which it is distributed. It is to be noted first of all that this sphere of influence has steadily increased, since the print-run rose from 5,000 in 1971 to 8,000 in 1974. Several factors have contributed to Kibaru's sphere of influence, in particular:

the cultural element: use of the local language - in this case Bambara, which is widely spoken - the functional literacy work which has already been carried out, etc.;

"In many, if not most cases, the task of keeping populations informed is done in a foreign language, giving occasion to the rise of a conflict between information and culture. But here, Kibaru is no stranger. The first step has been taken to adapt information to the social and cultural environment where it is imparted."(1)

the establishment of new channels for internal communication (rôle of the communicators, Kibaru clubs, use of the regional literacy centres, etc.);

the systematic publicizing of Kibaru among the populations concerned, for instance in Mali, the Kibaru design on girls' dresses, Kibaru parties, etc. In a word, intensive publicity work is undertaken in order to make the newspaper known and loved.

3. Lessons to be drawn from the Kibaru experiment

The difficulties: these are primarily of a material and technical character:

material difficulties: limited resources. To begin with, the newspaper had at its disposal neither vehicle nor telephone, which raised and still raises

(1) Cf. "...to reach the village...", Unesco in action.

real problems of communication and liaison. Unesco's assistance was modest, initially taking the form of 4 months' paper supplies. In this connexion, it may usefully be pointed out that, whatever the resulting difficulties, outside assistance should always be confined to the strict minimum so as to avoid stifling local initiative and making the venture heavily dependent on external sources;

lack of personnel;

difficulties in covering costs (if this problem is solved, i.e. if the newspaper is able to finance itself, a bright future lies in store).

Gradual adaptations (made necessary by the expansion of the newspaper):

adaptation of its educational content;

adaptation of the means of production in the direction of total responsibility for production being assumed by the Mali National Information Agency (ANIM);

adaptation of readership contact (relations between grass-roots and management, feedback, liaison machinery, etc.).

(d) Conclusion

A newspaper which has adapted to local needs fulfils the following conditions:

it uses a national language which is widely spoken (Bambara, Swahili, Wolof);

it ties in with a movement aimed at cultural renovation and the restoration of authenticity;

it continues an educational operation often linked to economic and social development.

C. Radio

(1) Radio and the oral tradition

Of all the media, radio would appear to be the best suited to the African sociological context, that is, to societies of which oral expression is an essential feature, or, more precisely, a specific cultural practice.

"We believe in radio", confesses Francis Bebey, "because everything that it tells us is spoken and not written for us and this is completely in line with our African civilizations, which are not civilizations of the written word but of the spoken word".(1)

And it is not by chance that this medium has so far been the one most studied by colonial or comparative ethno-sociology - and often, it must be admitted, in a way very much to the point - by drawing analogies between modes of expression employed in broadcasting and traditional and typically African modes of expression, and by stressing, for instance, that there is, or could be, an unbroken link between the various types of drum language and the language of broadcasting.

Robert Delavignette, a major figure in colonial ethnology, set out to emphasize the phenomenon of dramatization underlying the technique used to relay the news by means of drums and which may be compared with themethods employed in

(1) Cf. Francis Bebey in "La Radiodiffusion en Afrique Noire", Afrique-Monde, Ed. St. Paul, 1963, p. 192.

broadcasting: "Myriad improvizations (on the tom-tom) around a single theme... We are not confronted by a piece of news but are carried along by the news".(1) Radio, which is a "hot medium", produces a similar phenomenon. Colonial ethnosociology remains fascinated by such analogies, but its weakness, its Achilles' heel, is that it finds it difficult to get over this fascination in order to pose problems in operational terms, that is, in terms of educational strategy.

It provides the analyst with precious material but he must still know how to turn this material to account in order to envisage a possible strategy for effecting the transition between traditional modes of communication and the new approaches of the mass media - radio in the event, the medium which, while having the least unsettling effect upon the African, has a highly novel significance and bearing for Africa.

Radio immediately puts down roots in this continent, finding there fertile soil enabling it to become widely accepted as an educational tool.

It can and should, for instance, serve as an emanation of the griot (a sort of African troubadour), extending and amplifying his physical presence and functions (as historian, man of letters, story-teller, journalist, etc.) after the fashion of radio in the West which may be said to have filled the place formerly occupied by the troubadours in the Middle Ages.

In this connexion, Chérif Khaznadar in the aforementioned study quotes the following passage from Cingria (on the troubadours and the radio):

> "The troubadours (of the Middle Ages) and jongleurs were to be found all over France. The troubadour recounted tales of love, but also, before and after each separate tale, and interspersed with them, he recounted the 'news', as the radio does during a sequence of songs and sketches, gave his comments on the situation, etc. But the troubadour did not deal merely with politics - he also drew literary portraits and did not mince his words..."

Griots and story-tellers still exist in Africa and traditions are still alive. The problem which arises is surely that of adapting them by making dynamic use of this still vital heritage. For example, oral traditions (literary, historical, medical, agricultural and so on) should be collected and rechannelled into education by means of radio; griots and African story-tellers should be used for purposes of cultural promotion and education by giving them broadcasting time, particularly in rural areas; and techniques used in the traditional narration of news, events, etc., should be studied for the purpose of drawing on them in the context of radio.

2. Radio and the struggle against illiteracy

Radio may be turned into an effective means of combating illiteracy in Africa, especially since it is easier than other media to adapt to local conditions.

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(1) Robert Delavignette, "Du Tam-Tam à l'imprimé", Revue de Paris, 1955. It is also interesting to consult other works dealing with this subject, and in particular:

G. Calame-Griaule and B. Calame: "Le problème des langages tambourinés", La Revue Française (Paris) 1956.

Ester Van Loo, "Le langage du Tam-Tam", Larousse mensuel, April 1956.

Pepper: Présence Africaine, No. 1, 1947-1948.

See in particular Chérif Khaznadar's comprehensive study "Tradition orale et radio" which is of great interest (in "Grandeurs et Faiblesses de la Radio", Jean Tardieu, Unesco, 1969).

There have been a growing number of attempts to set up a "school of the air" in the under-developed countries, in Latin America, Asia and Africa. A number of conclusions may already be drawn concerning the conditions for progress in the field of educational radio, for instance:

the style and idiom used must be intelligible to the masses, particularly the rural masses;

the programmes must lead up to the award of diplomas as evidence of their being officially recognized;

they must be combined with written literacy training;

they must be modelled on local social requirements and realities;

they must use African languages wherever possible.

All the educational possibilities of radio are far from being exhausted, particularly in Africa where it does not come up against the same obstacles as the press: while everyone can listen to the radio, not everyone can read, for:

"According to recent statistics, there are more children who are still illiterate at the age of fifteen than there are adults receiving literacy training; thus for the greater part of the world's population, the transmission of messages in written form plays a negligible rôle; this part of the population has recourse to oral transmission and, consequently, to radio."(1)

Literacy training by means of radio should not mean instilling dry facts into the masses nor be an excuse for providing education on the cheap, but rather should constitute an effort to arouse their awareness with a view to development.

3. Functionality of educational radio

Not only does radio prove to be an effective means of combating illiteracy when it is used on a sound scientific and sociological basis; it is also less costly, less cumbersome and easier to use and transport. It is, thus, in the African countries' interest to make judicious use of it as well as of the other existing mass educational media such as newspapers, slides and records.

From this angle, there can be no comparison between what is involved in establishing educational radio and educational television, for instance, since television is very expensive and does not easily lend itself to such a use. In addition, with television, there is a great danger of having to lean more heavily on outside sources for equipment, programmes, experts, etc. The case of school television is often quoted, and the following gives some idea of the cost involved: "$8,000 per pupil, or 140 times unit expenditure at primary school, $56, whereas the country has a per capita income of $90".(2)

It is true that, in order to evaluate the cost, the number of pupils concerned and actually affected must be taken into account, this being, in the case of Niger, a long way below the optimum figure.

For all the above-mentioned reasons, radio is uniquely well-suited to assist in educational advancement with a view to development. To do so, the following specific functions could be assigned to it in the context of integrated education. It should:

(1) Cf. The study by Chérif Khaznadar already referred to.
(2) International Institute of Educational Planning: Les techniques modernes de l'enseignement - comptes rendus de quelques expériences:

(1) Niger, by R. Lefranc, p. 42, Paris 1967.

(1) promote a living and critical culture, such as to win over men's minds;

(2) develop the necessary civic and political education in order for the masses clearly to understand the economic and political decisions made by the country and for them to be able to act in accordance with their interests;

(3) enlarge the public of the conventional school which, in the African context, has always been élitist, by seeking above all to reach the rural masses which are the least provided for and which represent the majority of the population;

(4) provide practical education in the form of information relating to hygiene and health, family planning, agriculture, animal husbandry, etc. Experience shows that in order for this education to be effective, the participation of community leaders, technicians and teachers is necessary. For practical information is less attractive and less easy to assimilate than major news items concerning outstanding events: "News of important events, reaching the élite through the mass media, is relayed through the traditional channels fairly rapidly and adequately. But persuasive communication on developmental aspects has not been very successful. In other words, there is a distinct difference between communication of news of major importance and communication of knowledge and information relevant to behavioural change in such important subjects as health, education, family planning, community development, etc.";(1)

(5) subserve life-long education and above all provide special remedial courses designed to meet the needs of all those who have dropped out of school.

In order for it to assume such tasks, radio must adjust and adapt its style of communication to the social context, which means according particular attention to the forms through which it imparts education.

Careful consideration must therefore be given to the best ways of improving educational programmes and content on the basis of a preliminary survey of the various target audiences; steps must be taken to provide for spontaneous feedback (analysis of letters received - in Africa it is easy to get listeners to send letters) and efforts must also be made to try out different themes and in different ways, to hold a mirror up to society, to enlist the help of sociologists and other specialists, etc.

There is also a need to draw up integrated educational strategies (school education and radio education must be concerted; frequently, there is not the same public for all broadcasts; any possible duplication or overlapping must be avoided).

All these efforts should be aimed at arousing awareness with a view to ensuring participation in development.

An appropriate solution must be found to the problem of training qualified personnel who are attentive to the needs of the people, otherwise the educational strategies deployed will come to nought.

The way in which programmes are presented has its own particular importance: a simple, direct and non-academic style would be appropriate. Journalists and producers must be capable of speaking to the masses in an idiom which they can understand, knowing that they will be judged by their ability to communicate with "people who are less well off than themselves and whose daily preoccupations are different".

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(1) Cf. Y.V. Lakshmana RAO, The practice of mass communication: Some lessons from research, Unesco.

ANNEX I

INSTANCES OF EDUCATIONAL RADIO IN AFRICA

These examples, which are of value only as an illustration, are interesting in that they reveal the various ways in which radio services in Africa approach the problems of education.

What is lacking is a concrete appraisal which can be arrived at only by means of systematic field surveys. This would provide one of the best ways of evaluating the educational impact of radio and discovering what corrective measures and readjustments are needed.

The fact that all the African radio services accord a fair amount of importance to educational broadcasts is in itself a good sign. However, what is striking is their lack of cohesion and integration in the context of an educational strategy drawn up with the participation of those principally concerned. For in order to nurture and sustain national or African development, radio must be rooted in the socio-cultural context and must express first and foremost the needs of those who are educationally the most deprived, but also those most likely to be the prime movers of development.

A. Overview of some instances of educational broadcasting

1. Senegal

Most broadcasts are put on in close collaboration with the different ministries.

Entretien avec Monsieur X (Interview with Mr. X) (1/4 hr. every morning at 7.15)

Investigation centring on the peasants (their lives and development experiences)

The peasants are invited to formulate suggestions

Le rôle de la femme dans le développement (The rôle of women in development)

1/2 hr. weekly broadcast, bilingual Wolof-French

Jeunesse, espoir du monde (Youth, the hope of the world)

Weekly bilingual magazine lasting 45 minutes, illustrating the entire range of youth activities: youth centres, cultural centres, youth camps, etc.

L'école et la famille (School and the family)

Broadcast produced by the Ministry of Education concerning the problems faced by children and the parents of schoolchildren.

L'école à la radio (School of the air)

Literacy course backed by texts sent in advance to the regional centres.

2. Mauritania

No major educational campaigns using radio

A teachers' course intended for instructors in Arabic who teach in the camps

A few educational broadcasts (geography, economics, hygiene and health, etc.)

3. Madagascar

Active participation by the ministries

Health education (talks, 15 minutes weekly)

Agricultural problems and rural life (fighting the bush fires)

School education (courses in Malagasy, French, English, German)

University of the air (broadcasts courses on economics, science, etc.)

A few educational broadcasts:

Connaître (Knowing) (55 minutes; audience - from lower certificate level upwards)

This broadcast centres on general culture (history, theatre, etc.)

Pour vous Madame (Women's programme) - Jeunes talents (Young talents), etc.

B. The problem of using African languages on the radio

As a general rule, broadcasts can be divided up into two language categories, on the one hand those given in the so-called "official" language, and on the other, broadcasts in the local African languages. The African languages are being increasingly used in proportion to their importance. They are sometimes reserved more especially for the "national" channel. This channel addresses the local populations in the different languages of the country, whereas the "international" channel is aimed at a smaller public (the country's intellectuals and foreigners). The general character and content of programmes are determined by the various sociological components of the public. Here follow a few examples:

1. Mauritania

Out of the total weekly broadcasting time (70 to 80 hours), the hourly breakdown by language is as follows:

French, which for a long time remained the official language, for Western or "westernized" listeners among the three main ethnic groups: 15% of broadcasts.

Arabic (the national language according to the country's Constitution) intended for Moors who have received education in Arabic: 25% (the Tukulörs and the Sarakolles do not know Hasania and, consequently, do not know Arabic).

Hasania: the language of the Moors, who constitute 75% of the population. It is used for local broadcasts and educational chronicles (35%).

Tukulör: local broadcasts and educational chronicles (15%).

Sarakolle: local broadcasts and educational chronicles (10%)

The criterion applied here is the proportion of the population who speak the language in question.

2. Chad

Up until 1 March 1975, there was only one channel. The language breakdown was as follows:

French 1/3

Sara 1/3

Arabic and other languages 1/3

But since 1 March 1975 there have been two channels, a national channel which broadcasts solely in Arabic, Hasania, Sara, etc. and a channel which broadcasts solely in French.

3. Niger

For the educational broadcasting experiment using the method known as the Chicot-Meyer method, the four main languages of the country were employed:

Hausa, Tamashek, Dyerma and Berberi

As the experiment was run on a regional basis, it covered the different linguistic areas of the country, focusing on a number of centres:

in the north (Agadès) - nomad country

in the south (Madaova) - Maradi - sedentary areas

pastoral regions (In Gall)

large towns (Niamey-Zinder)

ANNEX II

KIBARU: RECAPITULATORY TABLE OF CONTENTS OVER A PERIOD OF ONE YEAR (1972)

NATURE	MARCH	APRIL	MAY	JUNE SPECIAL ISSUE
1. Agricultural extension work	1 illustrated column in a box agricultural campaign cereal prices	1 ill. col. in a box practical advice for preparing the fields and training oxen	1 ill. col. in a box processing of ground-nut seeds	1 ill. col. in a box (how to sow) list of contributors to KIBARU
2. Education, Health, Hygiene.	anti-corruption and anti-drug campaign international lepers' day	how to cross the road in town protection against microbes health education tour	chloroquine medication prevention is better than cure (THIORA) seed poisoning	-
3. National News	editorial on KIBARU the annual Bamako Agr. and Ind. Fair	editorial on KIBARU	public holiday 1 May 1972 President's visit to France	-
4. Regional News	general situation of the Nat. Literacy Centre	report on the end of the course for communicators feature page on MANA, a village visited by the communicators	opening of a cotton mill at KOUTIALA tour by the Governor in KAYES feature page on TAMALA, a village visited by the communicators	general situation of the Nat. Literacy Centre Bambara alphabet, 1 col. in a box
5. Letters from readers and communicators	-	Announcement re the publication of readers' letters reopening of the road to KITA	4 letters from readers 2 letters from communicators	-

NATURE	MARCH	APRIL	MAY	JUNE SPECIAL ISSUE
6. African and International News	8th African soccer cup at Yaoundé	summit meeting of OERS (Org. of Senegal Riparian States)	editorial on the African Ground-nut Council	editorial on the summit meeting of UDEAO (Customs Union of West African Countries) (2 cols. in a box) announcement of the summit meeting of CEAO (West African Economic Community) 9th anniversary of the OAU
7. General News, humour, miscellaneous	damage caused by 3 lions in BAFOULABE arrest of a taxi-driver for fraud	slogan urging people to listen to the radio poem by a secondary schoolboy	President's subscription card poem by a schoolgirl humour	map of CEAO feature pages on the States of CEAO rural radio programme
8. Illustrations	5 photos and 4 drawings	9 photos and 3 drawings	6 photos and 4 drawings	16 photos and 3 drawings 1 feature page, KIBARU poster

NATURE	JULY	AUGUST	SEPTEMBER SPECIAL ISSUE (in colour)	OCTOBER
1. Agricultural extension work	1 ill. col. in a box (weeding and manuring)	1 ill. col. in a box (processing of cotton)	1 ill. col. in a box (why process cotton?)	1 ill.col. in a box (maintenance of agr. equip.during the winter season
2. Education, Health, Hygiene	drinking water cattle diseases	chloroquine medication (regular dosage of chloroquine tablets) complete results of the 2nd Malian young people's artistic and cultural biennale	feature on 22 September, national holiday	-
3. National News	visit by the Head of State to the region of SIKASSO	announcement of a nat. holiday	editorial on the 12th anniversary of Mali (nat. holiday)	KIBARU medal announcement: 19 November, anniversary of the army take-over article on the nat. holiday
4. Regional News	feature page on SIKASSO, a village visited by the communicators	science course at Ouelessebougou, Bamako District	feature on 22 September, nat. holiday	list of the best instructors in the Literacy Centres
5. Letters from readers and communicators	3 letters from readers 2 letters from communicators	4 letters from readers 4 letters from communicators	feature on 22 September, nat. holiday	4 letters from readers 3 letters from communicators
6. African and International News	2-page supplement on the Bambara symposium, LONDON June-July 1972 announcement of the founding of CEAO	-	4-page supplement (special issue) on 8 September, International Literacy day	-

NATURE	JULY	AUGUST	SEPTEMBER SPECIAL ISSUE	OCTOBER
7. General News, humor, miscellaneous	the hunting permit humour	slogan urging people to support, read and encourage others to read KIBARU humour	(in colour) announcement re 8 September issue of stamps and posters relating to this date	announcement re GAME SU, a TOGO rural newspaper humour nat. lottery tickets
8. Illustrations	9 photos 1 drawing 1 map of CEAO on page 4	7 photos	25 photos Feature on 22 September, nat. holiday	8 photos and reproduction of a lottery ticket

NATURE	NOVEMBER	DECEMBER	PERCENTAGE IN ROUND FIGURES	OBSERVATIONS
1. Agricultural extension work	1 ill. col. in a box (harvesting and care of cotton)	nation-wide cereal prices during the 1972/73 season	20%	We are proposing to raise this figure to 25% by putting in articles on the activities of the technical services and on technical operations.
2. Education, health, hygiene	1st Law Seminar in Mali building of a clinic	-	15%	Photos or drawings with captions would fit very well into this section.
3. National News	holiday of 19 November feast of Ramadan	interview with the Minister of Production re the agr. campaign	5%	We shall make do with merely announcing important national events, particularly anniversaries, in the newspaper. Fuller coverage will be given in our radio spots.
4. Regional News	list of the best instructors in the Literacy Centres	-	10%	If the communicators were provided with cameras, the present lack of illustrations for regional news could be remedied
5. Letters from readers and communicators	2 letters from readers 1 letter from a communicator	1 letter from a reader 1 letter from a communicator	20%	A large number of letters were regularly received during 1972. We are considering providing guidelines so as to receive only such letters as are of practical use.

NATURE	NOVEMBER	DECEMBER	PERCENTAGE IN ROUND FIGURES	OBSERVATIONS
6. African and International News	interview with the Minister of Information on French Radio	announcement of Unesco course on dev. of the African rural press	5%	Fuller coverage could be given in our Friday radio spots. These topics would then have a great interest for the rural masses.
7. General News, humour, miscellaneous	lighting in a KITA village humour nat. lottery ticket	humour nat. lottery ticket	5%	Providing the communicators with tape-recorders could lead to our obtaining riddles, proverbs, tales, etc. This method of communication is more rapid and more effective than the written word.
8. Illustrations	8 photos reproduction of a nat. lottery ticket	15 photos including 10 of Africans responsible for the rural press	20%	The photographs could be backed by drawings and illustrations.

san naaninan - nimòrò 36
feburuye kalo - san 1975

bp 24
bamakò
mali

dòròmè 4 — cop : 0155

kibaru

a bè bò mali kiberudiso ka yamaruya kònò

musow jòyòrò jamana jòli la

san kura foli

san 1975 daminè la, kolonèli musa tarawele ye malidenw bèe san bèe san bèe, minw bè mali kònò ani yòrò wèrèw. arajo mali ye caman lase aw ma o siratigè la. kibaru fana bèna mali jamana kuntigi ka kuma dama dama lase kibaru kalanbagaw ma.

kolonèli musa tarawele y'a jira ko san tèmènnen, n'o ye san 1974 ye, o kèra san ye, ni baara caman kèra a kònò.

zuwèn kalo la, malidenw bèe wotera, ka faso taabolo sariyaba sigi sen kan.

o san kelen nin kònò, mali peresidan y'a jira ko baara min ka kan ka kè san duuru kònò, fo ka taa se san 1978 ma, o baara sigira sen kan.

san 1975 kònò, kolonèli musa tarawele y'a fò ko politigi tòn kura bèna sigi mali kònò.

o y'a jira fana jama la ko politigi mògòw minw tun bè kaso la, olu bèna bò kaso la, nyinan san kònò.

a fòra kibaru nimòrò 35 kònò ko mali musow ka nyògònyeba dò kèra bamakò, desanburu kalo tèmènnen na. wale caman bòra a kònò, musow ka tòn sariyaw kan, jamana ka sòrò-siraw kan, ani hadamadenya konyèw ni dònni siraw kan.

musow ka san

nyinan san, n'o ye san 1975 ye, n'o san tògò dara ko "musow ka san", o wale min kèra jamana yèrèmahòrò-nyalenw fè, o wale bènna mali musow ma, a banyana u ma.

mali musow y'a jateminè k'a fò ko faranyògònkan ani nyògòndèmè de bè se ka kè sababu ye k'u ka dinyèlatigè nògòya u ma. u y'a kòlòsi fana ko musò jòyòrò man kan ka dògòya fewu faso nafasòrò siraw, hadamadenya siraw ani dònni konyèw la faso kònò.

u b'a nyini, musow ka bila mali, moritani, ani senegali jèkulu la, walasa o jamana saba musow fana ka faru nyògòn kan, ka baara kè, u bè se ka nafa sòrò baara min na.

(a tò bè nyè 4 la)

daamu bè
nyògòn dèmè na

ko daminè ani ko laban

kibaru ko daminè san saba de ye nyinan ye. a kèra dòw nyè na ko tile kelen ko tun don. olu y'a girin fòlò kè a cogo la. nka u y'a faamuya tuma min na, u kènyèna pewu. u y'u dèn kèrè fè, hali u mankan tè mèn tugun. a mògòw bè kibaru kalanbagaw la, a bè kibaru laselaw la.

a bè fò tuma bèe : ko daminè man gèlèn, fo a laban ko. an delila k'a jira ko kibaru kalanbagaw, n'o ye cikèlaw yèrèw ye, k'olu de bè ka kibaru dawula bonya n'u ka lètèrèw ye. an delila fana k'a jira ko kibaru lasela dòw kènyèna sira fè. n'olu kènyèna, jòn bèna kibaru misènninw lase kibaru dilalaw ma ?

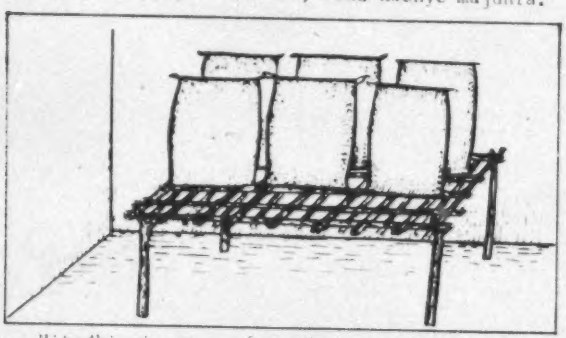
o la sa, kibaru kanubagaw, kibaru kalanbagaw, kibaru laselaw, kibaru dilaw, mali kònò ani mali kòkan, an k'an jija, kibaru, n'o ye malidenw kunnawolo sèbèn ye, o ka kè fèn sèbèma ye, fèn barikama ye, fèn nafama ye, walasa farajè ani farafin bèe da ka bèn a cènyè ma.

amadu ganyi kantè

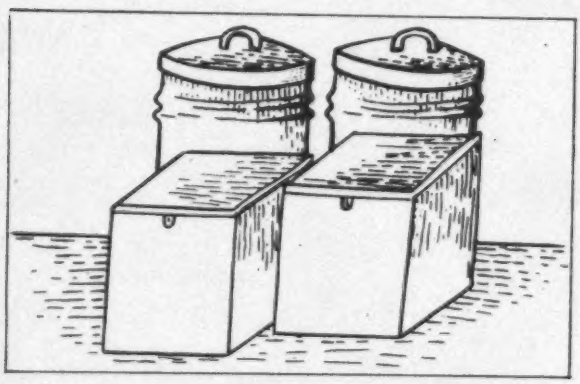
JIENDELEZE

Kilimo Bora cha MPUNGA

Umekwisha vuna mpunga shamba lako lote na kuupeleka nyumbani. Unashauriwa kuuanika kwa muda wa siku 10 ili ukauke vizuri na iwe rahisi kuupigapiga ili kutenga mabua na mpunga. Ukisha kauka upigepige na kuupepeta vizuri, weka kwenye majunia.



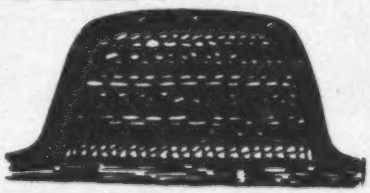
Hifadhi vizuri mpunga wako, ni muhimu kujenga ghala inayoruhusu hewa kwa wingi. Chumba kiwe na mwanga wa kutosha na kisiwe na unyevunyevu. Ghalani kuwe na kichanja kwa kuwekea majunia.



Mpunga wa mbegu uhifadhi kwa kuuchanganya na dawa. Uweke katika mapipa au madebe yenye vifuniko.

Weka akiba ya kutosha kwa chakula cha familia yako. Uza tu ziada ya mpunga wako. Mpunga wa kuuza usafishwe vizuri ili uweze kupata fedha nyingi. Uza kwa Vyama vya Ushirika ili upate bei nzuri. Uk uza kwenye chama utakipa chama uwezo wa kukuhudumia zaidi.

MBOLEA



Mabua ya mpunga ni mbolea bora sana kwa kuongeza rutuba, chakula cha mimea katika udongo. Usiyachome mabua ya mpunga wako baada ya kuvuna. Yatengeneze mbolea. Weka tabaka moja ya mabua, tabaka moja ya samadi mbichi na tabaka moja ya udongo. Mbolea yako itakuwa tayari kutumika katika muda wa miezi 2 au 3.

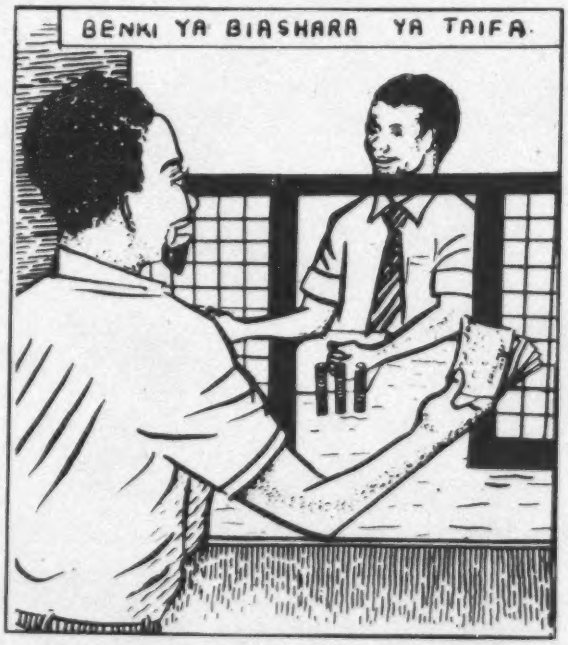
Itumie Fedha yako kwa Busara

Baada ya kuuza, tumia busara kuhakikisha kwamba fedha unayoipata unaitumia kama ifuatavyo:

1. Unalipa deni la chama ili chama kipate nguvu na uwezo wa kuagiza vifaa vingine mbalimbali kwa manufaa yako na ya wenzio.

2. Tenga fungu la matumizi nyumbani kutosheleza jamaa yako.

3. Tenga fungu la kununulia vifaa vya kisasa kwa matumizi ya mashamba na mifugo yako. Kama mbolea, dawa ya kuua wadudu, jembe la ng'ombe na kadhalika.



4. Pia kumbuka kuweka akiba kiasi cha fedha kwa matumizi ya baadaye. Kwa usalama na faida, weka akiba hiyo katika Benki ya Taifa ya Biashara.

Kwa kufanya hivyo, utaiwezesha Benki kutoa mikopo kwa wakulima na wafanyakazi ili wazidishe wingi wa shughuli za kuzalisha mali.